

## REPORT

ON

## NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 5th March 1904.

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## I.—FOREIGN POLITICS.

REFERRING to the proposal made by Mr. Hay, the American Minister, to maintain the integrity of China during the present Russo-Japanese war, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta]

HITAVADI,  
Feb. 26th, 1904.

Mr. Hay's proposal. of the 26th February says that it was on a similar pretext of integrity that the Western Powers prevented Japan from extending her sway over Manchuria and Korea during her war with China. Afterwards Russia occupied Manchuria and was extending her arms to Korea when the present war broke out. America is again speaking of China's integrity. Mr. Hay's desire is that the Chinese Empire should be kept intact for the Western Powers to divide among themselves in future, so that if his advice is followed the seed of a great war will be sown in China. The earth will never be in peace so long as the Christians, who boast of their civilization and love of peace, will not give up this sort of insincerity.

2. The same paper writes as follows:—

Politics and the Far East. How distant are Europe and America from the Far Eastern part of Asia! What concern has either Japan or China with Europe? What right or interest have the Westerners in Eastern Asia? Such questions, though they may find a place in a book of justice, have no meaning in politics. What is termed deceit in plain language is termed "policy" or "diplomacy" in the language of politics. Plundering is considered to be no sin, but rather a praiseworthy act in the field of politics; else why should Russia be knocking at the door of Japan? Japan has a little mettle in her and has roused herself; but weak China is only staring at the frowns of the Westerners and cursing her fate. It is needless to say that in the long run the weaker must go to the wall. How troublesome are the lives of those who cannot defend themselves!

HITAVADI.

3. The same paper deprecates, in a poem, the invasion of Tibet as one in which the harmless and helpless Tibetans, whose religion makes them unfit for war, will be killed and plundered in a mad policy of extending the bounds of the Indian Empire, in which the sturdy Indian soldier will have all the fighting and the luxurious Tommy! Atkins all the glory, and in which all the expenses will be borne by the Indian tax-payer, all for an ambitious freak of Lord Curzon. The burden of the poem is, "Pay you taxes, pay you taxes, Indian people."

HITAVADI.

## II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

## (a)—Police.

4. The *Burdwan Sanjivani* [Burdwan] of the 23rd February says:—

BURDWAN SANJIVANI,  
Feb. 23rd, 1904.

A case of dacoity in Burdwan. Every Bengali knows how far life and property are safe in villages nowadays. One has to carry one's life in one's hands. Not to speak of the moneyed man, even the respectable poor cannot spend their days at ease. Owing to a succession of failures of crops, many of the low-class poor have taken to thieving.

In our last issue we noticed a case of dacoity in village Tamda, thana Jamalpur, in the Burdwan district. The dacoits attacked the village at ten or eleven at night. At that very time, police jamadar Ramanath Singh was present in the village with his subordinates. Yet he did not resist the dacoits. People are now saying it was the jamadar himself who brought the dacoits with him! And there is ample ground for their saying so. For it was only the other day that the policemen attached to the Burdwan outpost did not hesitate to rob two men who had come there, of their money. Only one of these offenders was punished after trial. We cannot understand why the other accused were not summoned. That the police have a complicity in this dacoity is what we hear from many lips now.

The Lieutenant-Governor will visit Burdwan in March next. We do not wish to say that the police are worthless or neglectful of their duties. His Honour himself will judge if Government's own servants are good or bad.

Formerly there were eight guns in the abovenamed Tamda village. But under the orders of the late Magistrate, Mr. Foley, not only Tamda but many



other villages are now without a gun. We can say without hesitation that by taking away the guns of the villagers he has only added to the depredations of the thieves.

Mr. Foley was a strong supporter of the police. Some say it was on the advice of the police that Mr. Foley deprived the villagers of their guns. The effect is, they are now in constant dread of thieves and dacoits.

We hope the Lieutenant-Governor during his visit here will not forget to devise some means to stop thefts and dacoities in the Burdwan district.

JYOTI,  
Feb. 25th, 1904.

5. The *Jyoti* [Chittagong] of the 25th February says:—

Oppression of pilgrims at Sitakund.

This time also on the occasion of the *Sivaratri* gathering at Sitakund the pilgrims did not escape ill-treatment by the police. On the *Sivaratri* night the police locked the gate of the temple and went home. The *sebaits* dared not open the doors to the crowd, and a large number of pilgrims went back disappointed. The Mohant at Barabkund forcibly levied a tax from many pilgrims. One aggrieved man brought a charge of extortion, but subsequently withdrew it under police pressure.

SANJIVANI,  
Feb. 25th, 1904.

6. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 25th February writes that an alarm has been caused among the ignorant men of Calcutta by the spread of a rumour that the con-

A false alarm.

struction of a bridge at Chandmari near Howrah cannot be completed unless 1,001 men are sacrificed at it. This wild rumour is causing great mischief, as it has got a firm hold upon the mind of the common people. It is to be hoped the Police Commissioner will take steps to remove the evil.

(b)—Working of the Courts.

BASUMATI,  
Feb. 27th, 1904.

7. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 27th February states on the authority of a correspondent that Babu Ambica Charan Dutt,

The Munsif of Ghatal in the Midnapore district.

Munsif of Ghatal, is in the habit of abusing his *amla*. They complained to the District Judge, but to no effect. Many of them consequently have gone on leave. Even the pleaders and parties are not courteously treated.

(d)—Education.

BASUMATI,  
Feb. 20th, 1904.

8. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 20th February says:—

The Viceroy's Convocation speech.

One is impressed both by the Viceroy's high ideals and by his hopeless ignorance of this country and its people. It is a pity he has not been able to know us in five years.

To amuse oneself by imagining high ideals which one can never hope to see realised may be worthy of a Viceroy, but it does not bring us any nearer fruition. For various reasons we think that impracticable which he with his daring imagination has thought practicable. The chief reason is we have no money; and the little of it there is goes to the support of foreigners. Our rich men have almost exhausted their resources in subscribing to memorial funds. This talk of funds and endowments for the new University alarms us. Eurasians are monopolising all avenues of employment. So we had better not look for much money.

The Viceroy's loud talk of increased educational expenditure is galling at a time when the cry of the starved millions is being heard on all sides.

The Universities Bill is now in the hands of a Committee of members specially chosen by the Viceroy. Most people believe that if this Bill passes it will greatly injure our interests. But the Governor-General's idea is quite the reverse. In his view it is the elixir which will give us a new life. He is like the parent pouring medicine down the unwilling throat of his son. Never were the people made out to be so foolish and lacking in worldly wisdom. During Lord Curzon's *régime* we have seen and learnt much. His genius is as a torch which is fit to light the trunk of an oak and not a bundle of straw which will be reduced to ashes by mere contact.



9. In continuation of its criticism of the Viceroy's last Convocation speech (see Report on Native Papers of the 27th February 1904, paragraph 19), the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 26th February writes as follows:—

We have all along been saying that the Universities Bill would, if passed into law, destroy instead of developing high education in the country; but our words, though true, are not palatable to the Viceroy, who said the other day that even people who had condemned the existing system of education, were opposing his measures of reform. Does the Viceroy mean to say that every change is a reform? We have many reasons for finding fault with the present system of education and examination. It develops the memory only, but fails to call into activity the other and higher faculties of the mind. If the present state of things, with its too many text-books, amusing question-papers, and inefficient method of teaching is bad, the proposed change is sure to be worse, because when the change is made, even the little education which the *Alma Mater* now dispenses will be a thing of the past. This is the reason why the opposition to the Bill has been so great and strenuous.

We do not deny that nowadays the so-called education of many a student consists in his committing to memory text-books and notes. But what remedy does the proposed change provide for this evil? Is the mere fact of a college being well-endowed, well-equipped, etc., sufficient to raise the value of its teaching? For the purposes of an educational institution no palatial building would be necessary in the country where students were content in the past to live in poor huts while engaged in the solution of abstruse problems of *Nyaya Darsan*, the cultivation of the science of numbers, the investigation of the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the study of poetry and *belles lettres*. What are most desired and wanted are the excellence of the preceptor, the excellence of text-books, and the excellence of the students' moral character. But what is being done by the reforming Viceroy for the purpose of securing such excellence? Text-books are becoming worse day by day, and incompetent mediocres are being imported from England as professors. Moreover, on the pretext that all colleges should have sufficient funds and endowments at their disposal as a guarantee of their stability, the authorities have resolved to lay the axe at the root of those educational institutions which are being reared up and developed by the Indians themselves for the spread of education in the country. If all this is reform, it is better not to have such reform. We want progress, but we do not believe that any and every change must necessarily contribute to progress.

The standard of education in this country has deteriorated for many reasons. Regard for the interests of particular persons has now become a point of consideration with the authorities. They are therefore indifferent to the matter of raising the standard of education. Where the student and the teacher find no opportunity of knowing each other, how can the former have proper respect for the latter? Where the student finds no time to think for himself, how can his character be developed? Where all his time is wasted in committing things to memory, how can he apply his intellect to the work of study? It is for these and many other reasons that the Universities are turning out, in large numbers, characterless, half-educated and unsocial "passed" students of immature brains. If in any exceptional case any student is saved from these evils, he is saved by some virtue innate in him and by the endeavours of his guardians. What the advocates of reform wanted to have removed, were these evils and not the introduction of a more rigid and faulty system than the existing one. They did not want the authorities to trouble themselves with questions as to whether or no students are receiving their education in palatial buildings.

The Education Department has now deteriorated. Learning is no longer honoured in the Government institutions. Mr. Pedler, the present Director of Public Instruction in this province, was at one time the Principal of the Calcutta Presidency College. He had no University education and had never before any connection with any University on earth. He has never been under any obligation to any University. Consequently, who but a man like



him is more fit to become the head of an Education Department in India? Such, indeed, is our lot.

Those who asked for a reform of the Indian Universities never dreamt that it would come in the form proposed. We now see that absolutely no reform would have been better for us than this sort of reform. The authorities are taking away all independence in educational matters. They are bringing all education under their own control from lower education to the highest education that is receiveable in the University. While they are making the Senate and the Syndicate an arena for the unrestrained display of their pranks and whims, they have ceased to treat the Education Department with that tender regard which formerly characterised their dealings with it. We fail to comprehend how, after a consideration of all these facts and of the Universities Bill, people still feel reassured. Lord Curzon is a master of rhetoric, but what will words alone do?

In his speech Lord Curzon described, in language full of poetry, the laudable work which the existing University has been able to achieve, and did not forget to remind the public of the great service which the present system of education has done in spreading Western learning and knowledge in the country. Why is he then so determined to ring the death-knell of the present system?

Lord Curzon said, "You cannot ring the death-knell of that which in the true sense of the term has never been born." We deny the truth of this remark. We want to be versed in the Western learning and to master the Western arts. Place no obstacles in the path of our education. At first you gave us education because it was your interest to do so, but now you are trying to obstruct its course from a fear lest we should stand as your rivals and competitors.

Formerly students received encouragement, but now the authorities oppose us at every step in our endeavour to get our boys educated. If the proposed Bill is passed, all the private colleges in the country will be abolished; because how can it be possible for their proprietors to guarantee their stability, when even many Government colleges have not become stable? Such colleges as will undertake to teach physical science will of course take care to provide themselves with the necessary appliances. If they do not do so, no student of physical science will go to them. Why, then, do the authorities trouble themselves with this matter? On the death of its founder, a private college may cease to exist and its condition may change with a change in his circumstances. It is not therefore always possible to guarantee the stability of a private institution. But it is certain that if it deteriorates it will die a natural death and a better one will take its place. Where is then the necessity for such stringent rules as have been proposed, rules which are calculated to lead to the abolition of all the private colleges both in Calcutta and the mufassal, and leave the Government and missionary colleges alone in the field? The field of education will thus be circumscribed and the existing evils will be increased a hundredfold. Will that be a reform? It will not enhance the glory of the Viceroy if, impelled by *sid*, he passes the Universities Bill. We have not been satisfied with His Excellency's speech.

HOWRAH HITAIISHI,  
Feb. 27th, 1904.

10. The *Howrah Hitaiishi* [Howrah] of the 27th February writes as follows:—

The Sanskrit College under its present Principal.

We gave in a previous issue some hints of the selfish and arbitrary doings which have been going on in the Calcutta Sanskrit College (Report on Native Papers for 13th February, paragraph 19). No one has as yet contradicted us, and we firmly believe, that no one will be able to do so. But we have recently come to learn that a conspiracy is going on to oppress certain employés of the college, on the suspicion that it is they who have supplied us with our information. But it will not be wise for the Principal to make his bad name worse by committing oppression on any of his subordinates on mere suspicion of their complicity in our writings, when clear evidence of his own arbitrary doings is so plentiful even outside his college. It will be far better for him to try to mend his ways. We give below some proofs of his arbitrary proceedings:—

Under the former Principals of the Sanskrit College, eminent Professors, wherever found in India, were appointed examiners in the Title Examination.



But, under Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, none but his favourite Professors in the Sanskrit College and his sycophants are appointed such examiners. Anybody who can lodge near the Principal's residence and keep himself engaged day and night in pleasing him can get an examinership in any subject and is at perfect liberty to place his relatives, friends, and proteges at the very top of the list of successful candidates. To take an instance. In the Title Examination of 1308 B.S., Pandit Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan, one of the Professors of Smriti in the Sanskrit College, was appointed examiner in Sankhya philosophy, although he had himself failed to pass the Title Examination in that subject a short time ago and had never made a second attempt to pass in that subject. In that very year, in which Pramatha Nath was appointed examiner, two pupils of Professor Priya Nath, of Benares, elder brother of Pramatha Nath, appeared at the Title Examination in Sankhya and passed very successfully and received rewards.

We shall next say a few words about Pandit Rajendra Nath, the newly-appointed Professor of Smriti in the Sanskrit College. It is impossible to describe in the columns of a newspaper the intimacy which exists between the Principal Hara Prasad, the Professor Pramatha Nath, and Pandit Rajendra Nath.

Rajendra Nath is the man who occupied the highest place in Smriti at the last year's Title Examination. It is needless to say that the examiner was Pandit Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan. In his application for permission to appear at the examination, Rajendra Nath described himself as a pupil of Pandit Haris Chandra Tarkaratna, of Mulajor, although, in point of fact, he had all along been living in Calcutta and serving as a teacher in a local school and used to pay only occasional visits to Mulajor on Sundays and holidays. During this period of his life, however, he used to spend his mornings, from 6 to 9 A.M., and his evenings from 4-30 to 9-30 P.M., regularly in flattering and pleasing Hara Prasad and Pramatha Nath. For some time he is also said to have served as a private tutor in the house of Kunja Babu, Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction. However that might be, Rajendra Nath was allowed to appear at the Title Examination, although he had passed neither the first nor the second examination in Smriti. And thanks to the kindness of his intimate friend, the examiner Pramatha Nath, he met with no difficulty in passing the examination. There was likelihood of some difficulty arising on the fourth day of the examination, on which day a *viva voce* examination is held by a different examiner. But that difficulty was very cleverly got over. In other years, the *viva voce* examiner used to set his own questions. But at the last year's examination at which Rajendra Nath appeared, the questions for the *viva voce* examination were selected by Pramatha Nath, although the examiner was a different man, namely, Pandit Guru Charan Tarkabhushan, of Bali, an eminent Professor of Smriti. The questions were also printed. The result of this unusual examination was that Rajendra Nath, who had not read Smriti more than three days in a month, secured 90 marks out of 100, and succeeded in beating even such brilliant students of Smriti as Surendra Nath Bhattacharyya, of Mulajor, and many others.

But the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Sastri Babu, was not content merely to see Rajendra Nath occupy the highest place in the examination, but reduced the scholarship of Rakhal Das Gupta, the student who stood first in *Kavya*, in order to enhance the value of the reward to Rajendra Nath, and before a full year had elapsed, appointed him as a Professor of Smriti in conjunction with his companion, Pramatha Nath. How the subject of Smriti has been taught in the Sanskrit College during the time that Pramatha Nath has been its Professor will be clear from the fact that not a single student has appeared at or passed the Title Examination in that subject from the Sanskrit College during the whole of that time. Is not this fact alone sufficient to prove that the Sanskrit College has been ruined under the present Principal?

11. The *Rangalay* [Calcutta] of the 28th February says that those who are so foolish and mean as to publish false and malicious statements in newspapers against Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri, are only bringing disgrace upon the Bengalis. A Brahman is now the head of the Calcutta

RANGALAY,  
Feb. 28th, 1904.

The Principal of the Sanskrit  
College, Calcutta.



Sanskrit College and the management of the Sanskrit Title Examinations rests with him. But the chances are that this ascendancy of a Brahmin will no longer exist. The result of the villification of Mahamahopadhyay Hara Prasad will do him no personal injury. The result will perhaps be that on his retirement, a European Principal will be appointed, and then the humiliation of the Bengalis will be complete.

(g)—*Railways and communications, including canals and irrigation.*

JYOTI,  
Feb. 25th, 1904.

12. The *Jyoti* [Chittagong] of the 25th February says:—

The railway authorities are utterly indifferent to the repeated appeals which have been made to them to erect a platform and waiting-room at Sitakund. On the occasion of the last fair at that place, about 12,000 pilgrims were present. Most of them were helpless females. If the railway authorities had seen how they suffered in entering into and alighting from the carriages, and how many of them for want of a waiting-room had to sit on the open ground near the station, the complaint would have been doubtless removed. The whole line has now been opened, pilgrims are constantly coming to Sitakund from all sides, and the railway receipts will also gradually be increased thereby. There should therefore be no more delay in granting the prayer of the passengers resorting to Sitakund.

RATNAKAR,  
Feb. 27th, 1904

13. The *Ratnakar* [Asansol] of the 27th February writes:—

Asansol is now one of the principal railway stations, the centre of the mining districts and the junction of the Bengal-Nagpur line. The station buildings and adjoining places are crowded at all hours of the day owing to trade and the concourse of innumerable railway passengers. The bazar is situated at some little distance from the station, and passengers suffer great inconvenience in obtaining refreshments. The railway authorities are therefore requested to open a shop for the supply of refreshments on some spot on the platform itself, for the convenience of all classes of native passengers. It would be a great boon if a shop like that on the Burdwan station platform were established here.

(h)—*General.*

PRATINIDHI,  
Feb. 13th, 1904.

14. The *Pratinidhi* [Comilla] of the 13th February says:—

The address of the People's Association contained a protest against the proposed partition. We are astonished to read what Lord Curzon said in reply to the address. It is a matter of great regret that the Viceroy lost his self-control and aimed keen shafts at the educated community. Contemptuous language and such fierce onslaught are not surely worthy of the highest official in the land.

PRATINIDHI,

15. The same paper says:—

The Viceroy thinks that by his able arguments he has removed our objections. But we say with all confidence that not one objection of ours has been successfully met.

DACCA GAZETTE,  
Feb. 29th, 1904.

16. The *Dacca Gazette* [Dacca] of the 29th February has the following in its English columns:—

The Viceroy's tour in East Bengal. In every respect the speeches made and the procedure adopted by His Excellency the Viceroy during his tour in Eastern Bengal have filled us with disappointment. It was confidently expected by everybody that private interviews would be granted to the local leaders of public opinion and an honest and genuine attempt would be made to ascertain public opinion and the grounds upon which the popular opposition to the separation scheme is based. Instead of that, we find the Viceroy confining himself exclusively to the society of the local high officials and apparently drawing all his information from this highly interested source. The inevitable result to such a strange procedure has been that the Viceroy has been completely hoodwinked in many important matters, and the tales that have been poured into his ears have betrayed him into the commission of egregious blunders which have evoked a chorus of derisive laughter all over the country. What are we to say, for example, of his statement about the placards set up at Dacca having been imported from Calcutta? One such baseless statement is sufficient to thoroughly compromise the Viceroy in



the eyes of the people. We hope the Viceroy has, by this time, been completely disillusioned on this as well as on many other matters upon which his credulity has been so successfully worked upon by the officials and their underlings. There would have been no necessity for the awkward position in which the head of the Government now finds himself, if, instead of lending a too willing ear to one party only, he had invited the leaders of opinions on both sides to meet him in an open Conference, like the one arranged by Sir Andrew Fraser, and there discussed fully the merits of the case. Secret accusations would be out of the place in such a meeting, and we have very little doubt that our leaders would come out triumphant from the ordeal.

The very fact that the Viceroy has refused to hold Conferences and grant interviews shows conclusively that even before leaving Calcutta, he was hopelessly committed to a certain view in the matter, and his object in coming here was not to ascertain public opinion, which was explicit enough, but to accomplish the hopeless task of bringing the public round to his own views by specious arguments and admonitions and by the use of cajolery and threats in turn. In short, there runs through His Excellency's speeches an assumption of superior wisdom in himself and of childish ignorance in his hearers which we must characterise as astonishing in the highest degree. That the people should be so audacious as to oppose and criticize schemes formulated by a responsible Government seemed to the Viceroy an inexplicable riddle. It is evident that census figures have somewhat misled him. Otherwise we cannot account for the bold assertion that the people of Dacca are unable to comprehend the meaning of the placards posted up in their own houses. How the ruler of the land has come to form such a low opinion of the educational advancement of the people of Dacca, it is difficult to understand. We can only venture a guess that the immediate surroundings of the Viceroy, while out on tour, have had something to do with it. However that may be, it would have been better for the reputation of the Viceroy, if he had confined himself to dinner and evening parties and other social amusements during his stay at Dacca and Mymensingh. His arguments, with which we hope hereafter to deal *seriatim*, while utterly lacking the convincing character claimed for them by himself, have left a painful impression in the minds of the people as to his incapacity for close and logical reasoning and his inability to deal calmly and dispassionately with matters in which the people have the misfortune to differ from him. It is patent to everybody that the august proconsul came to these parts of the country with certain prejudices already deeply rooted in his mind, that he has studiously avoided those sources of information which would have effectually dispelled these prejudices and turned with a vengeance only to those which were calculated to nourish and strengthen them, and that denunciation and condemnation of popular movements of all kinds, rather than conciliation, were the sole aim and object of his tour. He has advised the people of Chittagong to preserve an open mind on the matter, but has apparently forgotten that example is better than precept. His speeches bear the most marked and unmistakeable impress of a despotic temperament, goaded and exasperated by popular local opposition and still more by the merciless castigations and revelations made by the Press, Indian and European, of the metropolis. His Excellency is grievously mistaken if he thinks that we shall be browbeaten into submission, as he is perhaps confidently expecting. If submission and compliance are to be secured, it must be by means other than threats and abuse.

Evidently His Excellency the Viceroy regards the people of Eastern Bengal to be innocent of all knowledge of Parliamentary tactics and political organisations in England. Indeed, nothing less than this was to be expected from the organiser of the grand pageant at Delhi which was intended to amuse and overawe and impress the *childlike* population of India with the grandeur of the British power. Certain circulars of the Mymensingh Association are seized upon by the Viceroy in order to show up the hollow nature of the popular agitation. Unfortunately for the Viceroy, we happen to know something about the methods employed in electioneering campaigns and popular agitations in England, and if our agitation is to be characterised as artificial on account of the existence of these circulars, then much stronger terms



must be applied to the Fiscal controversy which is now convulsing England and the Home Rule agitation which is convulsing Ireland. One simple answer to the charge would be a challenge to any official or any of his minions to get up a counter-agitation. The gauntlet has been thrown over and over again, but it has not been taken up by anybody as yet, simply because the officials know the utter hopelessness of their position. Indeed, no amount of wire-pulling will produce any effect unless your appeals to the masses strike a chord in their bosom. The leaders of the people would not have been able to produce a thousandth part of the effect actually brought about, had it not been for the fact that the common people, who are really not the simpletons and idiots Lord Curzon takes them to be, have come fully to realize the deplorable results which are sure to follow the change.

SRI SRI VISHNU  
PRIYA-O-ANANDA  
BAZAR PATRIKA,  
Feb. 24th, 1904.

17. The *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 24th February says that the imposition of a pilgrim-tax at Puri would certainly cause great hardship to the Sannyasi sect, besides paining the Hindu community. But considering the *aid* which the Government evinces in regard to measures opposed by the people, nobody ventures to speak out.

SRI SRI VISHNU  
PRIYA-O-  
ANANDA BAZAR  
PATRIKA.

18. The same paper comments as follows on the points raised in the A criticism of the Viceroy's Viceroy's speeches at Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh:—

(1) The Viceroy has objected to rash or condemnatory judgment of Government measures. But who is to judge whether such judgments are either rash or condemnatory without reason? Not certainly the Viceroy himself, who is the head of the Administration and, as such, an interested party in the matter.

(2) His Excellency has expressed his readiness to listen to the opinion of competent judges. Lord Curzon presumably considers the officials to be such competent judges. But they are human beings and therefore fallible like the rest of humanity. They are, besides, foreigners and, as such, no safe judges of the conveniences and inconveniences of the Indians. They have also individual hobbies and caprices. But even among official views His Excellency has made distinctions, disregarding Sir Henry Cotton's view in favour of Mr. Ward's, on the ground of the latter's incomparably greater experience of Assam. But the people may ask in their turn, what should an Assam officer like Mr. Ward know of the conveniences and inconveniences of the people of Bengal? Besides, Mr. Cotton, in forming his opinion, had the advantage of studying the opposite view of the case presented in Mr. Ward's report.

(3) His Excellency professes to have formed the scheme solely for the benefit of the people, who are not well governed. Well may the *Englishman* call him a benevolent despot and one who has no doubts whatever about the excellence and appropriateness of his scheme.

(4) His Lordship has declared that Government always acts from the best of motives, and it need not therefore mind the opposition of the deluded people. A very convenient principle, no doubt, and one which would provoke laughter if coming from any but so august a personage.

(5) His Lordship has called the Bengalis selfish because they say Government may partition any other territory, for the sake of administrative convenience, but not theirs. The Bengalis raised in his presence a loud and piteous wail indicative of their anguish, and for this he has called them selfish. His Excellency also speaks of "preservation of balance of advantage." Would it not be pertinent to ask, whose advantage—the Government's or the people's?

(6) The Viceroy has pronounced the agitation against the partition scheme spurious, as having been got up by the wire-pulling of the Mymensingh Association, which has misled the ignorant people. It is surprising that Lord Curzon, who has lived in London, should express surprise at such organised association. Mr. Chamberlain scattered broadcast handbills and pamphlets all over England, and thereby got up his late agitation. Was it, on that account, a spurious agitation? Is it a spurious agitation to make one realize a danger which he fails to perceive, and thereby make him join an agitation for the purpose of averting it? No agitation can prosper that does not touch the people's heart. Let the Viceroy try the practical test proposed by the *Anurita Bazar Patrika*. Let him circulate pamphlets in favour of the partition scheme and see whether the people



will respond to the call and make a counter-agitation. The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca has not, with all his efforts, been able so far to induce more than 90 or 95 persons to join such a counter-agitation. There are those who call this cry of spurious agitation a capital means of discountenancing such organised association once for all.

(7) His Lordship says that the people of Cachar and Sylhet do not feel it a hardship to be governed by the Assam Government. Why should then Dacca and Mymensingh, he asks, object to it? It is to be hoped that the ethnological proficiency displayed by His Excellency in thus placing the people of East Bengal on the same level with those of Cachar and Sylhet will be brought home to the ignorant public by Mr. Risley.

(8) His Lordship says that the population of the area proposed to be transferred far exceeds that of Assam, and there is, therefore, no fear of the Bengalis being merged into the Assamese and sinking to their level. The probability rather lies the other way. But so eminent a scholar as His Lordship need not be told that an up-hill journey is far more difficult than a down-hill journey, and that bad examples are far more infectious than good.

(9) Referring to the absence of representation on a provincial Legislative Council in the event of the transfer, His Lordship says that the difficulty may be obviated by arrangements for representation on the Imperial Legislative Council, to which we have to say that the absence of all representation would be equally good.

(10) His Lordship holds out to us the hope that the new province may be constituted into a Lieutenant-Governorship. But this, in our opinion, would only increase expense without remedying the real evil, namely, the separation of Bengalis.

(11) The Viceroy has said that the people of East Bengal call themselves Bángáls and not Bengalis. They are therefore a distinct race. But we who have always lived in Bengal never knew that the people of East Bengal call themselves Bángáls. So far as we are aware, they rather regard that name as insulting.

Finally, we have to ask, where was the need of going to East Bengal and thereby occasioning a vast expenditure of public money to utter things like these there? Might not these have been spoken as well in Calcutta?

Every word uttered by Lord Curzon testifies to the fact that he himself is the originator of this scheme, and that he is anxious to immortalise himself by carrying out a great project.

19. Under the heading "Why did Lord Curzon go to East Bengal? To ascertain the public feeling or to abuse the people?" the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 25th February writes as follows:—

The Viceroy's tour in Eastern Bengal.

Lord Curzon crossed over to Chittagong. He did nothing in Chittagong unworthy of a Viceroy. But he became excited at Dacca, and lost all control over himself at Mymensingh, where he did not hesitate to fling abuses. Our King-Emperor, who is the first gentleman in the world, would be pained and ashamed to hear that the official who now occupies the post of his Viceroy spoke ill of Mymensingh at Dacca and of Dacca at Mymensingh. To speak ill of one behind one's back is not the etiquette of politeness in any country, and was it not reprehensible to speak ill of the Mymensingh Association's circular letter to the people of Dacca and to make the groundless statement before the people of Mymensingh that all the printed placards at Dacca had been procured from Calcutta?

The polite etiquette of no country, again, will approve of the Viceroy's conduct in abusing the Rajas, Maharajas and the other leading native gentlemen present with epithets like "stupid," "creators of falsehood," "deceivers of illiterate and simple folk" and "Bángáls" when considerations of politeness prevented them from giving a reply. Where, in history, did Lord Curzon find that the people of East Bengal called themselves Bángáls and not "Bengalis"?

Lord Curzon is the greatest man in India, being the representative of our beloved Sovereign. And it fills one with shame and regret even to think that he abused the Rajas and Maharajas and the wise and the learned of Mymensingh.

SANJIVANI.  
Feb. 25th, 1904.



The truth is that while Lord Curzon's speeches at Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh failed to convince anybody, they created much bad blood.

We have now come to see that we have nothing to expect from Lord Curzon. At Chittagong he said that he had come with an open mind, but what he said at Dacca and Mymensingh proved that he had already come to a decision. The people should, therefore, now try to set up an agitation in England. Nothing will be gained by bandying words with Lord Curzon. But, considering that he is the representative of our Sovereign, we should take steps to make the grievance of the whole province known to him and see whether that does not melt his heart.

SANJIVANI,  
Feb. 25th, 1904.

20. The same paper writes as follows :—

The Viceroy at Mymensingh. Lord Curzon went to Mymensingh with great pomp. His mounted body-guard, though not accompanying His Excellency to Chittagong or Dacca, went to Mymensingh from Calcutta and stood with drawn swords while he alighted from the train. Was all this pomp due to Mymensingh being the centre of the agitation? Many thousands of people had assembled, and after the Viceroy's speech was over and they heard that he had rejected their prayer, many burst into tears.

SANJIVANI.

Protest meetings.

21. The same paper reports protest meetings held in three different places.

SANJIVANI.

22. A correspondent wires to the same paper from Dacca challenging the Viceroy's statement "I found the streets of

The Viceroy in East Bengal.

Dacca placarded with mottoes expressly sent for the purpose from Calcutta" as incorrect, and states that they were all manufactured at Dacca, as would be evident from the zinc plates used on the occasion, which are still in existence.

JYOTI,  
Feb. 25th, 1904.

23. The *Jyoti* [Chittagong] of the 25th February says:—

The Viceroy in East Bengal.

The Viceroy has said "I have not come to announce a final decision. We shall act after considering the opinion of the Bengal Government." But from his speeches we conclude that he came to persuade the people to cease agitating and accept his proposal without opposition and alarm.

He is the omnipotent ruler of India. People tried to represent to him their fears and objections. He laughs at them for nothing and acts according to his own will. What power have people to prevent him from doing so?

He has said, "If the Government find their scheme holds ground in the opinion of those best qualified to advise them, no one can expect them to depart from it." Now he alone is best qualified whom the Viceroy thinks so. One is dismayed to think of the way he has tried to put Sir H. Cotton out of Court. Who among Lord Curzon's supporters has Sir H. Cotton's experience? Yet Lord Curzon has dismissed him with one word.

It was for this we said, "He is the all-powerful ruler of India. He is one to do what he pleases, and also to judge what is right and what is wrong, what is true argument and what is false. If he does not change his purpose of himself, what power have we to make him do it?"

HITAVADI,  
Feb. 26th, 1904.

24. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 26th February writes as follows:—

The Viceroy's East Bengal speeches.

The Viceroy has made enough speeches in East Bengal. At Chittagong, Mymensingh, and Dacca people went to hear him with longing hearts, but returned disappointed. We understand that it is His Excellency's earnest desire to create a Lieutenant-Governorship by dismembering Bengal, but as it will entail a heavy expenditure to provide for the convenience of the people in this matter, there is no hope that that will be done. We did not, however, imagine that in this partition affair, His Excellency will show signs of a derangement of the brain, be far removed from all reason, give utterance to incoherent words, and push the matter to an extreme. But now we see that the saying that a man loses his senses in his eagerness is as much applicable to His Excellency as to anybody.

Lord Curzon's language has lost its former force and perspicuity. Many faults have crept into his speeches. How does he, who takes his Secretaries to task for using too many *who's* *which's* and *an's* in their writings, himself use expressions like "ignorant grounds"? This is an application of the word "ignorant" which is to be found in the Curzonian dictionary only. A person



can be ignorant, but an argument cannot, even though faulty and used by an ignorant person. Besides this, it appears from His Excellency's speech that not more than 12 per cent. of the population of Dacca and Mymensingh can write or speak any language. It is a discovery worthy of a Columbus that 88 per cent. of these people are dumb. Who ever heard that so many dumb people live in our country? It would, of course, have been all very good if such a deaf ruler had in reality only dumb subjects. However that may be, all this shows that His Excellency is not in a normal state of mind. If he returns to England now, he will get rest, and we too will be saved. No other Viceroy was ever able to have his presence felt so bitterly by the people. Is this the result of learning, intelligence, and power?

It is useless to tell the Viceroy of our sorrows, when he is determined not to hear them. He says that the agitation is got up, but in the same breath tells the people that their fears are unfounded. Now, if the people are really afraid, should their fears be called honest or feigned? We therefore see that here also there is no consistency in His Excellency's words. The fact is that he did not foresee that the question would raise such a fierce and widespread agitation. Now that he has advanced a great deal in the matter, and has formed a *zid*, he has given up arguing. He must do what he has taken in his head to do, and is therefore showing fiery eyes. We are a lifeless people. Why then this fear-inspiring attitude? What is the use of arguments? Why try to convince us? We know all, we understand all, and shall be happy to be saved from the roarings of Curzon. Have not servitude for generations bred in us the power of knowing the minds of our masters? Go to England and be the Premier, and leave the people of this country while they have still life in them. We are in great fear, and supplicate you for mercy. If you spurn us, where shall we go? Lord! have mercy on us poor people.

25. It is rumoured, says the same paper, that the Subdivisional Officer of Chandpur, in the Tippera district, had a floral gate, which had been constructed by the inhabitants of Chandpur on the occasion of the Viceroy's recent visit to Chittagong, pulled down by policemen, because mottoes purporting to object to the proposed transfer were hung on it. Lord Curzon is requested to enquire if the rumour is true.

HITAVADI,  
Feb. 26th, 1904.

26. The *Mahima* [Calcutta] of the 26th February says:—  
The Viceroy in East Bengal. When the Viceroy started on his visit to East Bengal, he said distinctly that he had not yet come to any fixed decision about the proposed transfer, that he was starting on his tour with an open mind, and that he would decide after studying on the spot the public feeling on the question. We were charmed and reassured by his words. But we now see that those hopeful assurances given by Lord Curzon have no value, that he had already made up his mind on the partition question, and that he went to East Bengal only to give expression to his own views in favour of the partition in order to stop the agitation and all consideration of the question; in short, to overawe the public by frowns. Whether at Chittagong, or at Dacca, or at Mymensingh, he has everywhere expressed views in favour of the partition. The Nawab of Dacca, and his Manager, Mr. Garth, have great influence in East Bengal. It is supposed by many that the Governor-General has personally gone to East Bengal, because his object has not been gained through the exertions of the Nawab and his Manager.

MAHIMA,  
Feb. 26th, 1904.

We hoped that at Dacca and Mymensingh we should be able to get from the Viceroy a good summing up of the reasons for and against the proposed partition. We have been disappointed. His Excellency has not given the least sign of an open mind in his speeches. He has brought forward only those arguments which are favourable to the cause espoused by him, and instead of acting as an impartial Judge he has had recourse to special pleading. All this has only detracted from the dignity of his exalted office.

27. A correspondent of the *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 26th February invites the attention of the postal authorities to the serious inconvenience caused to the inhabitants of Baliakhali, in the 24-Parganas district, by late delivery of their letters, the postal peon delivering two or three weeks' letters at a time. This must be owing to the great distance of the Prithiba post-office from the

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR  
Feb. 26th, 1904.

A postal grievance.



BANGAVASI,  
Feb. 27th, 1904.

village. The village should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Tababaria post-office, with which it is in close touch.

The Viceroy's speeches in East Bengal.

28. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 27th February criticises as follows the Viceroy's East Bengal speeches:—

WHERE LIES THE HOPE?

*The "higher principle."*

The incidents which occurred in the course of the agitation over the Age of Consent Bill are going to be repeated. The other day the Viceroy said at Dacca—

"Although the popular approbation is neither the first nor the last test either of political expediency or the public mind, yet it is gratifying to learn that measures intended for the benefit of the community are appreciated by them, and even where that appreciation may be lacking, it will usually be found that the Government is acting in obedience to higher principle which may not be universally or generally recognised at the time, but the justification of which, assuming the principle to be sound, is certain to follow."

This is the tone which the Government assumed when the agitation on the Consent Bill was in progress. If "the Government is acting in obedience to higher principle," what was the use of Lord Curzon's going to East Bengal and making a gigantic show there? Moreover, the people of the country would have been saved all their crying and all the trouble they have been taking in the matter if His Excellency had told them earlier that they would not be heard because he was following a "higher principle." The partition affair has been turned into something like an Indian musical contest between the Government and the people. Mr. Risley first entered the stage and recited his part. The people replied. The Viceroy in his turn made a rejoinder from the side of the Government. His tone deepened as he went from Chittagong to Dacca, and it reached its highest pitch at Mymensingh. His Chittagong speech was neither hopeful nor alarming. He himself realised its insufficiency and said, "I shall be called upon in the course of the ensuing week to deal with this subject more fully in the replies to addresses at Dacca and Mymensingh." At Chittagong he said, "Until the Government of India has received the opinion of the Local Government and its officers, we are not in a position to make up our minds finally upon this subject, and I trust not to be regarded, therefore, as committing myself one way or the other." At Dacca he said, "I have come rather to ascertain from enquiry the trend of local opinion," but at the same time spoke of the "higher principle." At Mymensingh, however, his attitude became frightening and his tone angry; the people were taken aback and listened in fear and amazement. In a moment all their hopes were blasted.

We really hoped that when in East Bengal His Excellency would try his best to acquaint himself with the public opinion by any possible means and refrain from advocating any side of the question. But what actually happened has taken us aback.

#### "GOT-UP" AGITATION.

In his Dacca speech the Viceroy said that the protest agitation was got up, and, as a proof of this, produced a copy of the instructions issued by the Mymensingh Association, "which," he said, "has been actively bestirring itself in getting up the agitation in this part of the country and which I know to be in close connection with more important organizations in Calcutta." Thus truth has been turned into falsehood, the real into imaginary, the white into black, gold into tinsel. Now we ask His Excellency, when did he come to know that the agitation was got up? When did the copy of the instructions issued by the Mymensingh Association reach his hands? If before he went to East Bengal, what was the use of going there at all? If after, why tarry there? What was the necessity of playing the part of an advocate? Again, what offence has been committed by the Mymensingh Association in issuing the instructions? We do not know who has said that the Government is "unfeeling and despotic" and we do not believe that any one has. The villagers and rustics in our country may be illiterate, but they can understand what is beneficial or injurious to their interests when a matter is clearly explained to them. And how can those of them who understand convey their ideas and thoughts,



hopes and fears, to the Government except by the guidance of educated men, by holding meetings, by passing resolutions, etc.? We find nothing faulty in this sort of agitation. The Mymensingh Association neither intimidated the people nor held out enticements to them, nor advised them to forge signatures in connection with the agitation. What the Association has done is done everywhere in England when any important question arises there. If the Association's letter alone could raise such a fierce agitation, Government could have issued counter-letters with a view to pacify it, and thus His Excellency might have been saved the trouble of going over to East Bengal to advocate the cause of the Government. Again, while His Excellency used instructions issued by the Association to prove the spuriousness of the agitation, he made no mention of the statement by which the instructions are introduced and which makes the position of the Association clear in regard to the matter. In that statement the Association says that the instructions are issued in reply to a large number of letters of enquiry which it is impossible for it to reply to severally.

Now for the arguments used by Lord Curzon. In reply to those people who advise the Government to give them an Executive Council, such as exists in Bombay and Madras, to help the Lieutenant-Governor, the Viceroy said that even in those Presidencies "it has been far from being a smooth or perfect machine." It may be that what His Excellency said is true, but no one has as yet complained of the system of government which obtains in Madras and Bombay. The argument used by His Excellency to the effect that Bengal must be divided because her population has become so large as 80 millions, appears to be a riddle to us. Because by a similar line of argument we can say that there should be two Emperors for the British Empire and two Viceroys for India. As a matter of fact, neither the size nor the population of Bengal hinders an efficient administration of the country. If slight inconveniences sometimes occur they are to be accounted for in other ways. For instance, Lord Curzon said at Mymensingh that while one Collector governs the Mymensingh district, which has a population of 40 lakhs, one Commissioner and three Collectors rule an equal population in Orissa. Now, the difficulty as regards this matter can be removed by splitting the district into two or three districts. Such anomalies exist in many of the Bengal districts, and if they are removed the Lieutenant-Governor will not find the task of governing the province a very difficult one. At Mymensingh His Excellency observed to the effect that 14½ millions of Bengalis can suffer no social, religious or linguistic loss by coming into contact with 1½ millions of Assamese, and that the opposite is rather probable. What sort of argument is this? It amounts to saying that the interests of the Assamese should be sacrificed in the matter. Again, the contact of an evil element, however small, should always be avoided. As to the alternative proposal of transferring Bihar to the United Provinces, His Excellency said that that was a selfish proposal. Assam has nothing in common with Bengal in matters social, religious and linguistic, but there is a great similarity between Bihar and the United Provinces in these matters. How can then a proposal to transfer Bihar to the United Provinces be considered to be a selfish one, if a proposal to transfer East Bengal to Assam is not considered so? Again, the establishment of the capital of the new province at Dacca will be a source of great difficulty and inconvenience to the Assamese.

We neither dare nor consider it of any use to argue with His Excellency. He has been following a "higher principle" and has been convinced that the protest agitation is a got-up one. He does not care for the censure or praise of the people. Moreover, he wields supreme power in India. How is it then possible for us to make him realise our situation? But this much we can say that the proposed transfer would deeply wound the feelings of every Bengali.

We therefore again say that there is no deceit or falsehood in the matter. The widespread agitation which prevails in the country is only an echo of the mental agony which the people are suffering.

29. A correspondent of the same paper prays Lord Curzon to have the beautiful Kali *mandir*, called the temple of Jasoreswari and situate in the Jaynagar village under the Kaliganj thana in the Khulna district, repaired. The memory of this temple

BANGAVASI,  
Feb. 27th, 1904.

The temple of Jasoreswari.



is associated with that of the great Bengali hero Pratapaditya, and is one of his greatest works.

NAVA YUG,  
Feb. 27th, 1904.

30. The *Nava Yug* [Calcutta] of the 27th February says:—

The Viceroy in East Bengal.

The tone of a superior person offering advice pervades all the speeches the Viceroy has made in this country. Evidently no native of this country, however large his experience, learning or forethought, can be his equal in intelligence.

The gist of his speeches in East Bengal is this, that the ignorant masses are being incited by the small educated minority to agitate against the partition scheme, and that the benefits likely to accrue from such partition are being hidden from the public. Incidentally His Excellency has said, with a sense of exhilaration at the idea, that only one out of a hundred persons here is literate. If this is what his favourite Secretary Mr. Risley has found out after his costly census operations, then one must say never was money worse spent.

Even the great Mr. Gladstone bore testimony to the intelligence of the Bengali race. It is a shame that Lord Curzon, with his five years' experience on the spot, has not yet come to know the Bengalis. He speaks sometimes of his knowledge of history. But he does not know that English supremacy in Bengal was based solely on Bengali support. The descendants of Maharaja Nubkissen, of Maharaja Nuncomar, of Raja Rajbullabh, and of Kristodas, are still living, and some of them in the very district now proposed to be united to Assam.

Another instance of his ignorance of things Bengali. He said that the population of Dacca is now smaller than it was in Muhammadan times because the seat of government is now elsewhere. But what are the facts? Rajnagar was the seat of Raja Rajbullabh. The Padma has encroached on that town and on many other adjacent villages, while it has thrown up land on the other side. Part of this district now belongs therefore to Faridpur. Then, again, about 50 per cent. of Dacca men are now employed in different capacities in different parts of India and the surrounding countries like Ceylon, South Africa, Singapore, etc.

Lord Curzon has said that it is impossible for one Governor to govern eight crores properly. It is for this that he would cut off a part and hand it over to Assam, where it would be governed in part by the tea-planters. To meet the obvious retort, he says there is no analogy between the duties of a Lieutenant-Governor and the Viceroy. But we know that neither of these does things for himself. Both see through others' eyes. The real work is done by the Deputy Collectors. When a Governor-General thinks he requires some information, he wants it from the Lieutenant-Governor, he again from the Commissioner, he in his turn from the District Magistrate who distributes the work among the Subdivisional Deputy Magistrates. Is not the whole Indian Empire being run on these lines?

From his reference to the Executive Council system as it works in Bombay or Madras, one would gather that the Governors are mere tools in the hands of their Secretaries. One must remember that this Viceroy, unique in his greed of power, tried to bring these Governors under his control, but was overruled by the Secretary of State.

His Excellency's opinion about Governors brought out from England is evidently that they hinder instead of aiding the work of administration. Then perhaps he is willing to have a Civilian in the Governor-Generalship also?

The public have of late received so many instances of Civilian efficiency and Civilian sense of justice that his laudation of Civilians seems astonishing. One has only to mention Mr. Roe of Rajshahi, Mr. Garrett of Puri, and Mr. Fisher of Dinajpur. His Excellency's wish probably is to create two Lieutenant-Governorships out of Assam and the Central Provinces (with new territorial jurisdictions) and to reward some of his more faithful Civilians with the posts. One berth would probably go to Mr. Risley. Perhaps the public will not have to wait long to see whether this supposition is correct or not.

BASUMATI,  
Feb. 27th, 1904.

31. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 27th February says:—

The Viceroy in East Bengal.

We have to thank our own ill-luck if Lord Curzon has not yet been able to do anything for our good. He is not chary of holding out hopes and we have been living on



them. The sense of his speeches is this : what he is doing is for our good, we are agitating for nothing, our alarms are baseless. We are as children who do not know what is good for them. But he might well have spared himself the trouble and expense of going all the way to East Bengal to give utterance to these sentiments. Everybody now sees he went there after having made up his mind. He has concealed nothing as to what he will do. Some of the East Bengal zamindars were fated to part with some of their money. And this they had done. The smaller fry probably expect to get a title. But we cannot understand what led those who already hold the highest titles to worship the "rising sun."

If the Governor-General had regarded us as men of sense he would not have spoken as he has done. The same spirit runs through both his speeches (the Convocation speech and the Dacca speech), viz., you are as children, you do not know what is good for you ; all the same I shall do what I think is good for you. Those who sing the same tune are the only men whose opinion has worth. If Government settles the matter by saying "We shall act according to our own notions," there would be no room for criticism. While resorting to all sorts of forced arguments, he never ceases to proclaim his intention of benefiting us. What can the Dacca and Chittagong people now do but submit?

32 The *Rangalay* [Calcutta] of the 28th February writes as follows:—

Lord Curzon not responsible for the measures introduced by him.

The Bengalis are abusing and ridiculing Lord Curzon, the reason being that His Lordship is not acting in the way they would like him to act.

RANGALAY,  
Feb. 28th, 1904.

Our English rulers are a nation of shop-keepers and they look at affairs of State from the shop-keeper's point of view, namely, that of pecuniary profit and loss. What is, therefore, good for them is, as a rule, bad for us.

English historians, such as Hume and Gibbon, have taught us that for a subject people without independence no rule is so good as autocracy. Subjection to the Representative Government of a commercial people is tormenting in the highest degree. To save themselves from the oppressions of the Genoese and Venetian Republics the Christians in Spain invited the Moors. The English system of government is democratic in principle. They have, indeed, a Sovereign, but that Sovereign is, like the household gods of the Hindus, inert and lifeless, though an object of veneration and adoration withal.

We have many times said that to secure the permanence of British dominion in India a prince of the blood royal should reign here. That would set the public mind at comparative rest. Viceroys rule at present for a term of five years only. Even the Viceroy is not free from the failings of all servants. A servant must be anxious to win approbation and, therefore, also to make innovations. But constant innovations in law and administration must be very disquieting to the conservative population of a vast empire like India.

Lord Curzon may be called a young man. He has never been purged and purified in the furnace of poverty, despair, and obliquity. Good fortune has always attended him like a shadow. Everything he is doing is winning applause for him. He is, besides, an able, talented, industrious, and energetic statesman, as well as an eloquent writer and speaker. We cannot say that he is free from a hankering for the approbation of his masters. He does not also serve one master, but many: he is a servant of the English nation, of the English merchants, and unless he can please them all, he cannot expect universal applause. The consequence is that he has been found out and baffled this time.

A sufferer finds no solace in simply blaming an adverse fortune, and few have the good sense and justice to thank themselves for their own misfortunes. It is therefore a human failing to blame somebody else for their own misfortunes. But few have the courage to find fault with a great nation. So we are reduced to the necessity of wreaking our ill-humour on our Governors, though we know them to be hardly responsible for what they do.

Lord Curzon is not responsible for this scheme of dismemberment. The scheme has formed a subject of Government's consideration for the last nine or ten years: it has only received its final shape as well as publicity in Lord Curzon's time. The project of University reform is as old as Lord Dufferin's



time: it has only been given effect to during the present Viceroyalty. The proposal to gag the Press dates from Lord Lansdowne's time: Lord Curzon has only put finishing touches to it. The proposal to appoint Eurasians instead of Bengalis to all posts of responsibility was made so long ago as Lord Ripon's time: it has only been promulgated by Lord Curzon. It is needless to multiply instances. Some sort of continuity has been maintained in the system of administration in spite of a change of rulers. Lord Curzon is also initiating many schemes which will be published in good time. What makes us angry with Lord Curzon is that he should seek to dupe us as if we were really fools.

RANGALAY,  
Feb. 28th, 1904.

33. The same paper has the following:—

Viceregal logic in the partition question.

Lamenting the frailty of a high-born lady the Indian poet sings:—"It is a pity and a shame. But, then, everything becomes a King's daughter."

So, it is not for us to dispute or contradict Viceregal logic—logic that is cogent, clinching, and irrefutable, though, unfortunately, for our purposes unsuitable—logic that would baffle Gautam, the Indian founder of the science, perplex Aristotle, and puzzle Mill. Now for this Viceregal logic.

"I who am one will divide myself into many" declares the Creator in the Indian scriptures. One should therefore be split into many. The province of Bengal is one whole. It should therefore be divided into two, for such is the principle of creation. This is what might be called reasoning based on scriptural authority.

(2) Sir John Lawrence has said that no Executive Council is needed by a Lieutenant-Governor. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal cannot therefore be allowed an Executive Council.

*Commentary.*—Two mullas, one of them a warm advocate of the *mug* pulse and the other as warm an advocate of the *masur* pulse, were once having a hot dispute, in the *chak* in Delhi, on the comparative merits of their respective favoured delicacies. The advocate of the *mug* pulse said to his opponent:—"You know nothing. When Nadir Shah burnt Delhi he spared three things—(1) the Peacock Throne, (2) the imperial tent, and (3) the physician, Zulfikar Khan. This Zulfikar Khan's great grandson, when suffering from malaria, pronounced in favour of *mug*." This is a type of all precedents in the world.

(3) The population of Mymensingh is equal to that of Orissa and there is in that district only one European Magistrate and one European Judge. *Ergo*, Mymensingh should be transferred to Assam.

*Commentary.*—Satyabhama, the wife of Krishna, was a portly dame, combining in herself the dimensions of five ordinary women, and yet her lord was blessed with 16,000 wives; while Draupadi, a slender lady, was encumbered with five husbands. To redress balance, Satyabhama should therefore be a co-wife of Draupadi. This is what is called "redistributed middle."

(4) Dacca had a population of two lakhs in the time of the Nababs. The number fell off to 60,000, but, thanks to jute, has now risen to 90,000. Dacca should therefore be transferred to Assam, for the latter is sparsely populated. This requires no comment. This may be called reasoning by analogy. Or would not partition-reasoning be the more proper name?

(5) It is objected that if East Bengal be transferred to Assam, the High Court will have no jurisdiction over the transferred area. But who says that it will not, and what would it matter if it should not? The work of the High Court has not increased. The High Court itself may therefore be partitioned.

*Commentary.*—I will cut my goat at the posterior end and, if need be, I will divide the tail itself, for tails are in some cases divided. So not only the ear, but the tail, too, should be cut off. This is what is called *argumentum ad hominum*.

(6) Dacca and Mymensingh have a population of a crore and a half between them. Of these, twelve per cent. only are literate. Deducting from these twelve, seven as either old people or children, there remain only five. The Mymensingh Association has instigated four out of these five persons by the distribution of handbills and the promulgation of falsehoods. Of the remaining one per cent., three-fourths are Musalmans, and as Musalmans they are necessarily supporters of mutilation. Witness the Nawab Bahadur and his



kith and kin. Every one, therefore, in East Bengal is a supporter of mutilation. This is what is called the fallacy of mistaking a case of simple coincidence for one of cause and effect.

(7) Dacca will be the capital, the jurisdiction of the High Court and the Board of Revenue will remain as before, and there will be established a large college and an Education Department. Everything, in short, will be on the model of Calcutta. The new ruler will allow nothing to remain *dhaka* (hidden). He will look into everything, understand everything. His subordinates will look into everything, for nothing should be allowed to remain hidden in these days of freedom. Everything will therefore be disclosed to view. This is what may be called logic such as the cat may use against the mouse.

No more instances are needed. The *guru* (spiritual preceptor) opens the eyes of the disciple by the spiritual knowledge he imparts. So, *Guru* Curzon is opening, and has, indeed, opened the eyes of Bengalis by his speeches.

"Be you, my child, a good boy, mind your book and don't be naughty," so runs the admonition of the mother in the Indian nursery rhyme. This is also what our Viceroy says to us. Whatever he bids us do we must do. He tells us in the words of the nursery rhyme, "Baby, turn round your hand and I will give you a cake," and he expects the Bengali Babu to turn round his hand. But so perverse is the Bengali that he would not do so at his bidding. The workmanship of the Indian Vulcan is exemplified in the image of the god Jagannath. So, the ingenuity of the Viceroy is exemplified in this partition affair. We have had a manifestation of his worth in the Persian hospitality as also in the Tibet expedition, and now we have this unprecedented display of acumen in this partition affair.

The Viceroy ought to know that none of us are asses. His endeavours to persuade us are therefore only so much labour lost. He is the Viceroy, and say or act as he may, we will say with the poet:—"But, then, everything becomes a king's daughter."

34. The *Hitavarta* [Calcutta] of the 28th February has heard that the Government of Bengal has made a donation of some thousand rupees for paying off the debt which was incurred in constructing a Christian church in French Chandernagore. We do not know how far this rumour is correct. But we hope that the Government will contradict it, if the fact is otherwise. If Sir Andrew Fraser loves his religion he can give out of his own pocket in aid of church construction as much as he likes, but poor Bengal has nothing to do with a Christian church.

HITAVARTA,  
Feb. 28th, 1904.

35. The same paper asks why Government is not publishing the report of the Police Commission. Some say that the report contains certain matters which do not admit of publication. But this reason is not at all satisfactory. We have seen the report of the Universities Commission, and, therefore, know the worth of all such reports. The Report of the Police Commission is not likely to cause greater agitation than was caused by reports of other Commissions in the past.

HITAVARTA.

#### IV.—NATIVE STATES.

36. The *Mahima* [Calcutta] of the 26th February says:—  
The policy of secrecy has done great harm to the administration of the Dewan, Umakanta Babu. Reform becomes absolutely necessary at times, but the need for it was not felt at Tippera. The subjects were contented, the work of administration was going on smoothly and had won praise from Government.

MAHIMA,  
Feb. 26th, 1904.

Now it has come to this that there is no balance between receipts and expenditure, the disbursements exceed the income, the burden of the State debt is daily increasing, and the Minister is daily adding to it new and unnecessary items of expenditure.

That the Political Department is not working well, Umakanta Babu himself will be compelled to admit. The cause of this confusion is probably the constant change of officers. A list is given to show how many times officers in that department were changed in the course of twelve months.



Nor is this constant change confined to one department. The office of Sadar Magistrate changed hands thirteen times in ten months.

The Maharaja Manikya Bahadur is certainly not aware of all these changes. Who will tell the Maharaja of these things and thereby displease the Minister and so injure his own interests?

#### URIYA PAPERS.

SAMVAD VAHIKA,  
Feb. 18th, 1904.

37. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 18th February states that cholera is raging virulently at Nayabazar in the Balasore town and that the rate of daily mortality is 5 or 6.

URIYA AND  
NAVASAMVAD,  
Feb. 17th, 1904.

38. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 17th February, however, states that the fell disease has abated owing to the preventive measures adopted by the Balasore Municipality.

UTKALDIPIKA,  
Feb. 20th, 1904.

39. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 20th February says that the health of the Cuttack town is good.

UTKALDIPIKA.

40. The same paper states that there was a slight rainfall in the last week. The Balasore papers say that there are clouds in the sky, but no rain.

URIYA AND  
NAVASAMVAD,  
Feb. 17th, 1904.

41. The Talcher correspondent of the *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 17th February states that a good mango crop is expected in that Tributary State.

SAMVAD VAHIKA,  
Feb. 18th, 1904.

42. Referring to the *Shivaratri* festival, as observed at Mantiri in the Mayurbhunj State, the *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 18th February reports that the pressure due to the crowds of men, women, and children, assembled on the spot, was so great that a child fell down from the arms of a woman and was instantly crushed to death.

UTKALDIPIKA,  
Feb. 20th, 1904.

43. Referring to the Russo-Japanese war, the *Utkaldipika* of the 20th February points out that as it is fraught with many potential evils both to India and the world at large, it is the bounden duty of England to try to bring it to a speedy close.

UTKALDIPIKA.

44. The territorial redistribution question still forms an important subject of discussion in the native papers of Orissa, the *Utkaldipika* writing in favour of a united Orissa under the Bengal Government, while a correspondent of the *Utkaldipika* and a correspondent of the *Uriya and Navasamvad* propose to bring Orissa under the Central Provinces.

UTKALDIPIKA.

45. The Puri correspondent of the *Utkaldipika* is sorry to note that it is not safe to remain in the Puri town, as some houses are being burnt down almost every day. This is looked upon as a great calamity.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA,

*Bengali Translator.*

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,  
The 5th March, 1904.